

**EDUCATION IN
THE REVOLUTION**

MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION



37 posts attacked

MOZAMBIQUE

REVOLUTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT
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DAR ES SALAAM TANZANIA

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EDITORIAL

Sorting our friends from our enemies

It has become impossible for the world community to deny to our cause the attention it deserves. Our military and political success, and that of our comrades in Angola and Guine-Bissau, is the main reason for this result; the faltering grip of the Portuguese in Africa is increasingly evident to all. But the determination of those countries which support us to press our cause in the international arena has also been of great importance.

The current session of the United Nations bears witness to these developments in a particularly clear way. Two recent resolutions have stripped away the veils of pretense which mask the Portuguese position, and in doing so these resolutions have earned the support of the vast majority of the member-states of the U.N. Thus, in October, a resolution bearing on the question of Guine-Bissau condemned the "illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guine-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic". Jointly sponsored by 59 countries, it was passed overwhelmingly by a vote of 93 to 7 (with twenty abstentions).

Of even more general significance, however, was a second confrontation in December, one which represented a challenge to Portugal's claim to represent Mozambique, Angola and Guine at the United Nations. Four of the twenty-two members of Portugal's delegation were listed as coming from Portugal's "African territories", a totally unacceptable formula to most of the other delegations. The latter then pressed the issue in the plenary session of the General Assembly and introduced a motion to exclude these members from the Portuguese contingent. They reaffirmed the obvious but crucial point, that neither the Portuguese dominated colonies of Angola, Mozambique nor Guine-Bissau, where the PAIGC has recently proclaimed independence, are a part of Portugal. And the vote, when it was taken, was as impressive as before: 94 to 14 (with 21 abstentions). Once again, the embarrassment of the Portuguese was extreme. In both cases the progressive countries had managed to place the colonialists ever more clearly on the defensive.

Of course, neither FRELIMO itself, nor our friends at the United Nations General Assembly, would mistake paper resolutions for decisive triumphs. But we do not

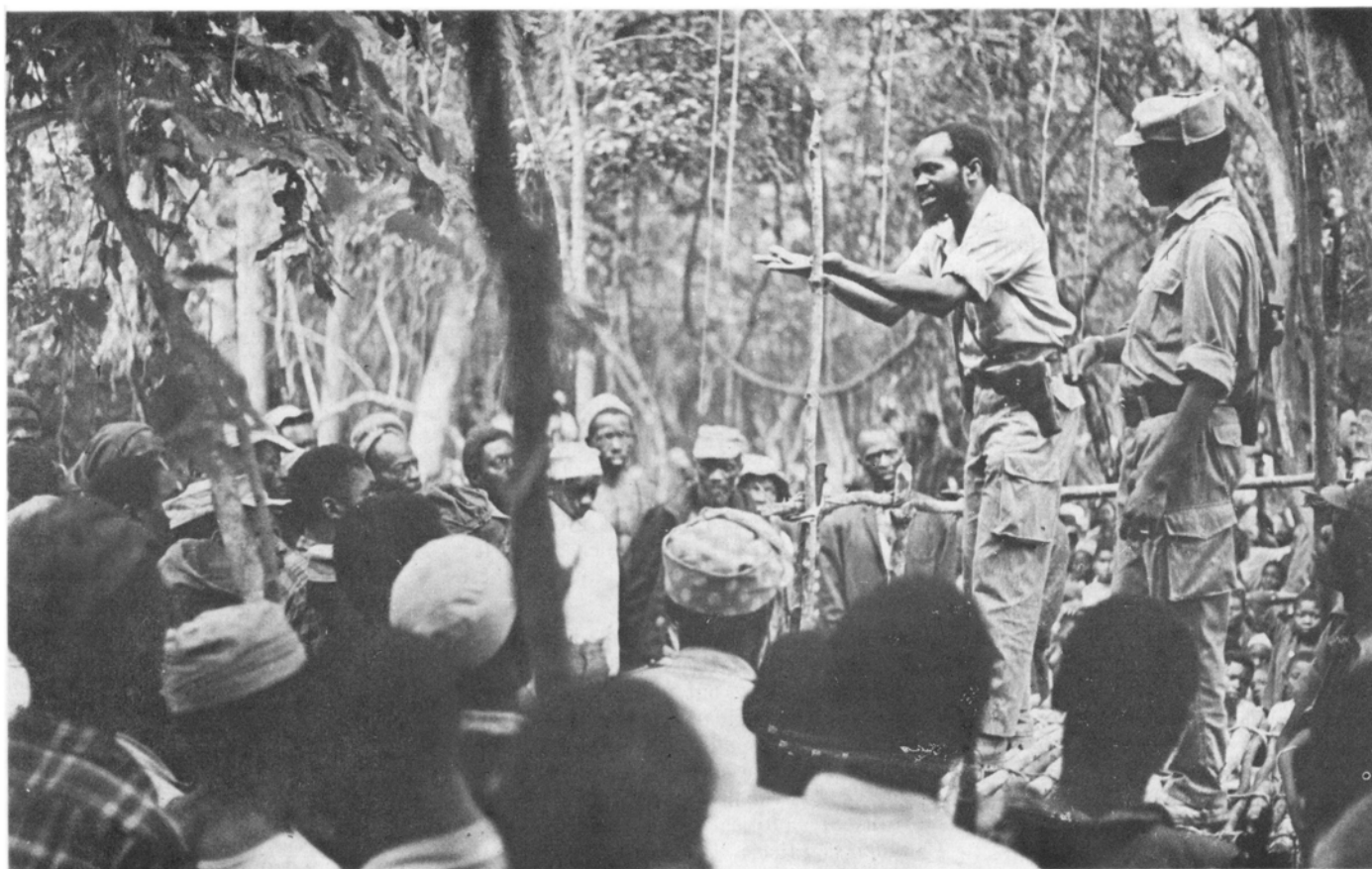
underestimate such advances either. They serve to further expose the Portuguese and to keep them off balance. They also provide an opportunity for such friends to make themselves known to us, to exemplify their commitment to our cause, and to lay the basis for increasingly concrete links of solidarity. From this we certainly gain increased strength and confidence, while our enemies learn something more of the long odds against their desperate gamble on a diseased and tottering colonial policy.

There is an additional result. Not only are our friends encouraged by such confrontations to step forward and present themselves in greater numbers than ever before. Similarly our enemies are much more clearly revealed. As the issue of Portuguese colonialism comes sharply into focus it is increasingly difficult for countries, particularly in the west, to try to be on both sides of the war for freedom in Portugal's African colonies.

Needless to say, it comes as no surprise to find countries like South Africa, the United States and Britain voting against both of the above resolutions, or to find West Germany demonstrating its opposition to our cause by abstaining in a most calculated manner. But what are we to make of the additional revelation that both the Netherlands and Canada rejected a resolution stating so clearly and simply that Portugal cannot, at the United Nations, pretend to represent the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guine. Surely this is the most basic and elementary of premises from which support for our cause must spring!

After such actions have been taken by Holland and Canada, can any meaning be given to pious pronouncements by these governments — to the effect that “the Dutch Government is going to give support to the liberation movements because it wants to speed up the process of decolonisation in the territories occupied by Portugal”, for example, or that the Canadian delegation “deplores the fact that the principle of self-determination as conceived by the United Nations is still being denied to the peoples of the territories under Portuguese administration”? And finally, what of “moderate” delegations like those from Denmark and New Zealand, among others, which abstain from such a clear-cut invitation to confront the Portuguese? What sort of friends are these?

Thus, the escalation of our struggle is having the effect of sorting our friends from our enemies and clarifying the lines of battle. Obviously, this is not because we choose our friends and enemies on any a priori grounds. We welcome the support of any government which is prepared to link itself honestly and straightforwardly to our cause. Rather it is the actions of various countries which enable us to learn their true positions. In this way, the events at the United Nations have been instructive.



The President addressing a public meeting during his visit to Cabo Delgado

THE PRESIDENT IN CABO DELGADO

THE ENEMY'S NEW METHODS

Last October and November, analysing the situation in Cabo Delgado Province Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of FRELIMO, held meetings with leaders and cadres in all sectors of activity — the Women's Detachment, the fighters and the population — at which he defined the tasks facing that province within the general framework of our struggle.

The tasks to be carried out by the population in the liberated areas, the need to steadily improve their living conditions, and the stepping up of enemy terrorism and subversion against the civilian population all requires that we do more thorough political and organisational work among the masses of the people.

We give here some extracts of the conclusions and directives put forward by Comrade President Samora at his meetings with the people.

«Each province, each region has a major task which comes within the general situation and strategy of our struggle so as to achieve our purpose: freeing our land and people.

In Cabo Delgado Province large regions are already liberated and under our control. The strategic task to be carried out in this province is to establish a reliable support base for expanding our struggle and building and developing a new society for the benefit of the masses of the people.

This means that we must do the following:

- Expand and strengthen the advance areas in order to attack the enemy in new regions, forcing them to disperse their forces and at the same time liberating more people.

- Continue to wipe out the enemy and dislodge them from the remaining posts,

which are like isolated islands in the sea of our liberated areas, even further reducing their operational capacity.

- Consolidate the work of building a new society for the benefit of the masses in the areas already freed from enemy control, which means that there is a need for increasingly clear and precise political orientation and a higher level of organisation in the fields of production, trade, education and health, as well as for the solution of social problems.

Taken as a whole, all these tasks imply strengthening the ideological and organisational offensive and democratising and imparting fresh dynamism to structures and working methods, putting into effect the general guidelines and watchwords laid down by our Central Committee in December, 1972.

These tasks are also the best way of

countering enemy action in the present phase.

Indeed, what is the present enemy strategy towards the liberated areas?

If we analyse the experience of this province, as well as other provinces, and relate it to the general orientation of the enemy, we note that although the number of large-scale ground operations has diminished owing to the heavy losses suffered, the enemy are now emphasising action against the civilian population, using two principal methods:

- Terrorism, chiefly through the use of heliported troops and bombing raids;
- Subversion.

We need to concentrate our attention on this second aspect, given the substantial intensification of enemy action in this field.

Commenting on the failure of the big «Operation Gordian Knot» offensive launched by Kaulza de Arriaga, General Sá Viana Rebelo, the then colonial-fascist Minister of Defence, stated in 1970 that the only way of destroying FRELIMO was to use subversion.

As from then, the enemy have devoted a great deal of effort to subversive activity, sending more and more agents of various types into our zone, in addition to those traditionally sent to commit crimes and carry out espionage and sabotage.

Some of these agents are of the Chiton-yola type, agents who are sent into the liberated areas wearing uniforms and carrying equipment identical to ours and presenting themselves as FRELIMO militants. Their job is to commit crimes against the people which are then blamed on FRELIMO.

Their aim is quite clear: to sow confusion and create contradictions between the army and the masses.

Other agents have the job of putting forward tribalist, regionalist and racist slogans, creating contradictions between people of different regions, confusing the definition as to who is the enemy and undermining national unity.

We need only recall that in defining colonial strategy at a Conference of the Institute of Higher Strategic Studies, Kaulza de Arriaga hailed tribalism as «a highly positive factor» to be exploited.

Other agents are sent into our zone laden with money and various articles in order to bribe our cadres and people, propagandising the alleged easy life on the enemy side and instilling among us the living habits of colonialism.

Yet others come with the job of fostering indiscipline through actions which appear petty at first glance, but the true purpose of which is to create a perturbed climate in our life and to distract our attention from the fight against the chief enemy through countless little violations of discipline.

How are we to answer this subversion offensive?

It is obvious that the work of these enemy agents can only succeed if they find a favourable climate for their ideas to take root, if the enemy manages to create among us false solidarity based on language, tribe, region, colour or religion.

The disintegration desired by the enemy can only take place if there is a relaxation in our life and behaviour which makes it possible to lull our vigilance towards these patent enemy activities.

We must continue to struggle without let-up against the erroneous idea that it is enough to carry out military operations in order to defeat the enemy; if our forces, people and areas are not impermeable to the activities and ideas of the enemy, we shall be frustrated of the fruits of victories won at the cost of so much sacrifice.

It is our duty to constantly draw lessons from the victories and failures of the world revolutionary movement and from our own experience, and to prepare ourselves to struggle continuously against the enemy's new methods.

In the last analysis, the best guarantee of defence against enemy infiltration lies in the vigilance of the masses. Hence we must give special priority to political work among the masses so that they constantly heighten their political consciousness and degree of organisation.

Our entire Movement must be engaged in this task: all the cadres and militants must be political commissars among the masses. The Women's Detachment must also work actively and continuously among the people.

The Circle and Locality Committees, which group together and guide the whole population and in which problems related to the people's life are discussed, must take on fresh dynamism so as to play a driving role in this campaign.

In our work we must bear in mind the following:

- We must show the progress achieved in comparison with the colonial era, emphasising the benefits gained through our struggle: the elimination of the direct

colonial presence, the abolition of the colonial tax, forced labour, the palmaria, compulsory cotton crops and exploitation in general. We must explain the meaning of the benefits gained through the creation of a new and democratic society, and the establishment of its politico-administrative, economic, educational, social, medical and other foundations to serve the interests of the masses. But it is necessary at the same time to combat the spirit of easy victory which overcomes some of us as a result of the successes achieved and which leads one to underestimate and scorn the enemy.

- We must emphasise the fact that the successes achieved are a result of armed struggle and that the constant and organised participation of the masses, within the structures appropriate to each phase of the struggle, is required.

— We must constantly demonstrate that the victories won in each region or province, both in armed struggle and in national reconstruction, are possible only because the struggle is a unitary one taking place on a nationwide scale. Just as the expansion of armed struggle depends on the organisation and consolidation of the rear areas, so does the existence and consolidation of the liberated areas depend on the efforts of the comrades in the advance areas and other provinces.

- We must combat the idea that the mere fact of living in the liberated areas guarantees revolutionary consciousness. In point of fact, the dividing line between us and the enemy is not just a physical one; it is in people's consciousness and makes itself apparent in all aspects of their lives and behaviour.

Sustaining the view that the fact of living in the liberated areas without direct contact with the enemy is sufficient to be a revolutionary is to reject the struggle between the old and the new and to reduce our contradiction with the enemy to its most superficial aspects. In fact the dividing line between the two zones is in the type of political, economic and social relations that are established, the kind of power and the way in which it is exercised, how production is organised and on whose behalf, and the nature of the work done in education, health and social life in general.

It should be borne in mind that a new generation is now growing up in the liberated areas, and that they have never known the direct domination of colonialism or its most dreadful forms of exploitation. All that these young people

know of colonialism are the bombing raids and the incursions of the colonial army, and they must be helped to understand the whole process of our struggle and the forms of domination and exploitation which still exist in our country, so that they can understand the true nature of the enemy and of exploitation.

— We must make a collective analysis of enemy machinations. Hence, captured agents should be exposed before the cadres, militants and people, so as to sharpen our vigilance, jointly finding ways of putting an end to their activities, synthesising the experience gained and thus heightening our consciousness.

With a view to improving the living conditions of the masses and enabling them to defend themselves better against bombing raids and terrorist enemy operations aimed at wiping them out and destroying their means of subsistence (crops, homes, etc.) we must do the following:

— Increase the number of production co-operatives, which are easier to defend and permit more productive use of available human and material resources.

— Diversify production in order to improve the people's diet and organise the systematic planting of fruit trees.

— Promote self-sufficiency by making

ever better use of our resources, both for domestic trade and for export.

— Continue to create new trading posts in the liberated areas, so as to facilitate the exchange of agricultural produce for manufactured articles.

— Strengthen the masses' system of self-defence, combining traditional and modern methods so that every terrorist act against the people and crops is severely punished.

Let us live with the masses, organising them and learning from them, since the people are the source of our strength and our victory.

DEPOIS DA GUERRA TER COMEÇADO
OS MACONDES SOFRERAM MUITO
PORQUE ACOMPANHARAM A FRELIMO.

A TROPA DESTRUIU AS BASES E
DEPOIS COLHEU O MILHO.



A TROPA
VAI ATACAR DE NOVO COM FORÇA.
FOGE ENQUANTO É TEMPO.
NÃO QUEIRAS SOFRER MAIS DO
QUE JÁ SOFRESTE.

The main concern of the Portuguese is the growing participation of our people in the liberation struggle. Their strategy for alienating the masses from the struggle includes massacres and psychological action aimed at terrorising the people. The psychological action is exemplified in this Portuguese propaganda poster, spread in thousands over the liberated areas of Mozambique. It reads:

AFTER THE BEGINNING
OF THE WAR THE MACONDES
SUFFERED MUCH BECAUSE
THEY FOLLOWED FRELIMO.

THE TROOPS DESTROYED
THE BASES AND REAPED THE
MAIZE AFTERWARDS.

THE TROOPS ARE GOING
TO ATTACK AGAIN IN FORCE.

RUN AWAY WHILE THERE
IS TIME.

DO NOT ACCEPT TO SUFFER
MORE THAN YOU HAVE
ALREADY SUFFERED.

Through this terror campaign our people are able to understand better the true nature of Portuguese colonialism, and everybody is now joining FRELIMO.



enemy puppet soldiers who were operating on lake Nangade in 5 small boats. There were 2 soldiers in each boat. All of the boats were sunk and the 10 enemy soldiers were killed.

November 11: enemy troops disembarking from a helicopter attacked our hospital in Mucojo. They were repelled by the hospital's garrison, but succeeded in murdering some of the patients and wounding others.

Tete

During the months August — October, FRELIMO fighters in Tete shot down a Rhodesian airplane; attacked 12 military centres and concentration camps; blew up a train; and launched a great number of ambush and sabotage operations. About 190 enemy soldiers were killed, 28 vehicles and one bridge were destroyed, and many people were freed from concentration camps.

attacks

September 4: The concentration camp at Changwe was overrun by our forces, who captured 4 «Mauser» rifles Nos. 75186, 676, 1973 and 18217, ammunition, 2 radios, 20 uniforms and a Portuguese flag.

September 23: The concentration camp at Furtuna was attacked: six enemy soldiers were killed and their «Mauser» rifles Nos. 1811, 16939, 12166, 689, 4103 and 10767 were captured.

Our comrades also attacked the posts and camps of Kalonje, on August 20; Kawili, on September 29; Cachulu, on September 11; Vila Gamito on September 20; Kalanje on September 20; Chiringa, on October 2; Mafigoas and Chibuvu on September 29; and Mafizondi on August 20.

Two other concentration camps were attacked: Mugo, on September 30, and Matenje on September 21.

aircraft shot down

On August 4, a Rhodesian reconnaissance plane flying over the zone of Bucho was shot down by our anti-aircraft fire. The plane crash-landed in Rhodesia, in the region of Chingongo.

train blown up

On the railway line between Chiweza and Doa, on September 26, a train engine was blown up and 5 wagons were badly damaged when they hit a mine laid by our comrades. The train was transporting goods and troops.

WAR COMMUNIQUE

Cabo Delgado

During the period August — December FRELIMO fighters in Cabo Delgado attacked 15 posts, camps and concentration camps and undertook a great number of ambushes and sabotage operations. More than 100 enemy soldiers were killed, 10 vehicles were destroyed and a large quantity of war material was captured.

attacks

September 20: FRELIMO forces attacked and assaulted the post of Quite-rajo. In this attack we captured documents and different material including 11 «Mauser» rifles Nos. 3017, 7262, 11317, 8024, 3997, 7034, 253, 278, 4848, 6234 and 7804 and a G-3 sub-machine gun No. 095405, 2 radio transmitters, 3 radios, 146 pairs of boots, 26 blankets, 71 uniforms and a Portuguese flag.

October 10: FRELIMO fighters attacked and assaulted the concentration camp of Xixano, capturing several «Mauser» rifles, 32 blankets, 21 pairs of boots, 52 pieces of cloth, 3 radios, 1 Portuguese flag, money, etc.

October 18: FRELIMO forces attacked and assaulted the concentration camp at Mashomwe killing many of the enemy and capturing 2 «Mauser» rifles Nos. 7765 and 19072, 23 blankets, many rounds of ammunition, 2 radio-receivers, 28 pieces of cloth, etc.

November 1: at 4.15 a.m. FRELIMO fighters launched a heavy combined ar-

tillery and infantry attack against the post of Lussoma. Many of the Portuguese soldiers were killed and the following material was captured:

2 radio-transmitters, 9 rifles cal. 7.9, 3 G-3 automatic rifles with 33 loaded magazines, 1 heavy machine-gun with 40 rounds of ammunition, 28 mortar shells 60mm., 32 hand grenades and 45 uniforms, etc. Lussoma was last attacked and almost completely destroyed in October, 1972. During the past year the Portuguese had rebuilt the post.

December 16 — 19: The post of Sagal was encircled by our forces and shelled continually over 3 days. The airforce, sent to bomb our positions, was repelled, and on the third day our forces were so close to the post that the airplanes bombed and strafed the post itself.

Other posts and concentration camps attacked by our forces were: Namele, on August 8; Mueda, on October 13; Palma on October 15; Nambude, on October 17; Mavude — Nambungia on November 12; Nkumango on November 13; Ntandora on November 17; N'gapa on November 24; Nataruka — Nakatur on December 5.

ambushes and sabotage

Our comrades launched many ambushes and sabotage operations, mainly in the areas of Mueda, Memba, Mwanjugula, Nacatar, Cuero, Maunde, Pundanhari, Nalinde, Mshuka, Montepuez and Macomia.

October 13: a FRELIMO unit ambushed

ambush and sabotage operations

We carried out a number of ambush and sabotage operations during this period — namely in the zones of Sachirila, Kaphiridzanje, Charimbana, Manje, Muchena, Kapalautsi, Chigubidi, Furancungo, Chipera, Fingoe, Madaba, Caldas Xavier, Nhangoma, Canhoeira, Cauando, Moatize, Mague, Cahora Bassa, Mocumbura and Zobue.

On August 15, our comrades destroyed a bridge on the road Sachirili — Galovi.

Manica e Sofala

From August — December (still a partial report), FRELIMO fighters in Manica e Sofala Province attacked 7 posts, encampments and concentration camps; shot down 2 airplanes and 1 helicopter; launched a great number of ambush and sabotage operations; and provoked the desertion of a unit of Mozambican soldiers in the colonial army. Many enemy soldiers were killed, and 8 vehicles were destroyed.

aircraft shot down

On September 10, FRELIMO fighters shot down a reconnaissance plane which was flying over the area of Chitongo, region of Manje. The plane crash-landed and all the crew were killed. Our comrades took the metal salvaged from the wreck to be used by our metalworkers.

On September 30, FRELIMO fighters shot down a jet plane flying over Mandie. The Portuguese managed to retrieve most of the wreckage and took it to their post. Some parts, however, remained where the plane had crash-landed and were taken by our comrades.

On December 11, FRELIMO fighters destroyed a helicopter in the region of Mandie. The helicopter had landed and troops were disembarking where our comrades opened fire. The helicopter was damaged, several Portuguese soldiers were killed and the rest fled, abandoning the helicopter.

We took the helicopter doors and seats, as well as 2 G-3 automatic rifles and ammunition, military maps and several documents, burning the helicopter afterwards.

attacks

On August 12, FRELIMO fighters attacked the post at Sussoto, killing 3 of the enemy and freeing 10 people who were in the adjacent concentration camp. The post was then assaulted and 10

«Mauser» and 3 G-3 arms were captured. Their numbers were: Mauser — 19858, 6629, 2074, 6627, 1037, 5142, 18500, 18188, 6478, 14538: G-3 — 255834, 255837 and 205792.

We also captured 15 G-3 magazines, 1245 rounds of ammunition for the G-3 sub-machine guns and 1347 rounds of ammunition for the Mauser rifles.

On August 12, we attacked a unit of puppet troops, capturing 5 of them, including the leader called Biziate Zibape, and their Mauser and G-3 guns Nos. 70606, 9874, 11314, 11819 (Mauser) and 255708 (G-3).

On December 7, our comrades stormed the concentration camp at Nhauri, in the



region of Sabeta. Seven puppet soldiers were taken prisoner and 3 G-3 automatic rifles, 14 Mausers and 15 magazines of ammunition were captured. Our comrades successfully completed this operation without firing a single shot.

Other camps and posts attacked included the one at Tambala on September 13; Marinyanga on September 4; Nhassala on October 20; and Senga-Senga on October 30.

enemy unit joins frelimo

On October 31, in the region of Donga, a entire unit of African soldiers in the Portuguese army deserted to FRELIMO, after talks between their leader and the FRELIMO Commander in the region. The soldiers from the colonial army said they

could not fight against their own people and wanted instead to fight on the side of FRELIMO. The group was composed of 17 soldiers and they brought with them 3 G-3 sub-machine guns (Nos. 192727, 255868, 155774), 14 Mauser rifles (Nos. 13957, 14587, 8934, 6323, 19207, 838, 15687, 9538, 6977, 3073, 15241, 7838, 3150 and 961) and ammunition. In addition, all the people who were in the concentration camp controlled by this unit were freed.

ambushes and sabotage operation

Our main ambushes and sabotage operations took place in the zones of Cachemba, Pungoe, Nhangwami, Sanhantamba, Senga-Senga and Mulima.

Niassa

From September to December, 1973, our comrades in Niassa Province shot down three planes; attacked three posts and camps; ambushed one train; and killed a number of enemy soldiers in sabotage and ambush operations.

aircraft shot down

On September 25, FRELIMO fighters shot down an enemy plane flying over the zone of Mwembe.

On October 17, another bomber plane was shot down in Mwembe, in the course of an attempted invasion by the Portuguese forces into our zone.

On December 17, a reconnaissance plane was shot down in the zone of Nkalapa.

attacks

On September 10, 1973, our comrades attacked the post of Chala with heavy artillery fire, destroying part of the post.

On September 23, an attack on a Portuguese camp on the road Maniamba — Mbandeze resulted in many tents destroyed and a number of Portuguese soldiers killed.

On October 29 we attacked the post of Luatize. Two buildings were destroyed and many houses damaged.

train ambushed

On September 22, a train transporting war material and soldiers to Vila Cabral was ambushed by our comrades. Several wagons were badly damaged. Five helicopters were called to carry the wounded to Vila Cabral.

enemy post abandoned

As a result of our operations, the enemy abandoned the post of Ngazelo.

The extension of FRELIMO's sovereignty over larger areas of Mozambique has been accompanied by a corresponding development in world recognition of FRELIMO as the only and true representative of the Mozambican people. As a result FRELIMO has been invited to take part in a growing number of international conferences and other events. Following are reports from some of these occasions in the last quarter of 1973.

FRELIMO IN WORLD EVENTS



Demonstration in Stockholm during the Week of Solidarity with Africa in Arms

SWEDEN: WEEK OF SOLIDARITY

The 25th of September was marked in Sweden by a week of solidarity with Africa in Arms. This was organised by the Africa Group (a Swedish Support Committee) and consisted of public meetings, discussions, press conferences and interviews.

Representatives of FRELIMO, MPLA and the PAIGC participated in the events. During his stay, the FRELIMO representative also had a meeting with the Chairman of the Central Organisation of Swedish Trade Unions, Mr. Gunnar Nilsson.

ALGERIA: NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT

From 5 to 9 September, the Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Algiers. FRELIMO, representing the Mozambican people, participated with observer status. This Conference witnessed the participation of a greater

number of Heads of State and of Government than ever before and adopted important resolutions designed to reinforce the struggle for national independence in the political and economic fields. The problem of colonialism was given the highest priority, and a «statement on the National Liberation Struggle» was adopted. In addition, a specific resolution was passed, declaring the full support of the Non-Aligned Countries for the liberation struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné-Bissau, and condemning the NATO countries and Japan for their support of Portugal. The Non-Aligned Countries pledged themselves to exert pressure on these powers to desist from giving such support to Portugal.

SOVIET UNION: WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

More than 3000 delegates representing 120 international organisations and about 1.000 national organisations in 143 countries met in Moscow at the end of October for the World Congress of Peace Forces.

The aim of the Congress was to study ways of

OCTOBER REVOLUTION

On November 7, FRELIMO sent the following telegram to the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

«Occasion 56th anniversary glorious October Revolution leadership fighters whole Mozambican people convey Comrade Secretary-General CPSU Communist Party Government Soviet People most warm salutations stop
Mozambican people fighting Portuguese colonialism imperialism associate themselves Soviet People celebration revolution decisive for oppressed people pay homage memory sons daughters Soviet People fallen defending building Socialism stop
Success achieved CPSU struggle against oppression exploitation imperialism their constant support peoples fighting for liberation constitutes contribution source great encouragement our people cause freedom in world stop
Confident relations of friendship combat solidarity existing between our peoples and organisations continue reinforce in common struggle against colonialism imperialism exploitation for justice peace stop
Behalf our people express sincere wishes for happiness prosperity progress Soviet People even greater successes building socialism
High Consideration
Samora M. Machel
President FRELIMO.

ensuring the realisation of peace in the world. The delegates unanimously affirmed that peace is not possible while there remain in the world situations of oppression, injustice and exploitation. Consequently, it was agreed that if peace is to be won and preserved, it is necessary that all peoples in the world advance in an organised and co-ordinated way the struggle for the total liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. FRELIMO was represented by a delegation led by its Vice-President, who chaired the Commission on «The Struggle for National Liberation».

GUINEA: CELEBRATION OF VICTORY

November 22, is the anniversary of the victory of the people of Guinea over the colonial – imperialist aggression, and has been declared by the OAU to be the «Day of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle of the African Peoples». This year it was celebrated by the PDG and the Government of the Republic of Guinea with large demonstrations in which many foreign delegations participated.

The presence of the FRELIMO delegation at the celebrations expressed the solidarity of the entire Mozambican people with the people of Guinea.

Our delegation handed over a message from the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Moises Machel, to the Secretary-General of the PDG and President of the Republic of Guinea, Comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure. In the message our President stressed the importance of the victory of the people of Guinea, as an example and a source of encouragement for all African peoples, and vowed to strengthen the fraternal relations of solidarity between our two peoples and organisations.

President Sekou Toure, in reply sent a message to President Samora Machel, reaffirming the active solidarity and the unconditional support of PDG and of the people of Guinea for the glorious national liberation struggle of the Mozambican people.

KENYA: ILO CONFERENCE

Complying with the decision of its General Assembly, which has declared FRELIMO as the only and authentic representative of the Mozambican people, the ILO issued an invitation to FRELIMO to participate at its meetings.

In his address to the Fourth Conference of the ILO which was held in Nairobi at the end of November, the FRELIMO representative underlined the nature and the extent of our participation in the world struggle against oppression and exploitation. He described the working

conditions in colonial Mozambique, which were to a certain extent already known to the ILO through reports prepared by its own research commissions and again stressed that the problem can only be solved by the liquidation of the colonial regime. Our representative then described the present situation of our struggle, pointing out that the main obstacle to our independence is the support that certain Western countries give to Portugal. He indicated the ways in which the ILO can in turn assist our struggle, namely by relating to the work of national reconstruction in the liberated areas. FRELIMO further emphasised the pressing need to expel Portugal from the ILO and to give FRELIMO a permanent official status in the Labour Organisation.

We also appealed to the African workers to help in isolating Portugal in collaboration with the workers of those countries which now support that colonial state. The demonstrations against the Swedish participation in Cahora Bassa, the boycott of war material destined to Portugal in the port of La Spezia and the public protest in Britain against the visit of Caetano were cited as concrete examples of the kind of action we are requesting.

BELGIUM: ANTI - NATO MEETING

During a meeting of the Council of Ministers of NATO at the NATO Headquarters in Evere, Belgium, a public demonstration was held simultaneously in that town, to protest against NATO support for Portugal's colonial wars. The demonstration was organised by Belgian Support Committees.

At the protest meetings, the FRELIMO representative spoke in detail of the different forms that NATO support to Portugal takes, pointing out that almost all the war material being used by Portugal in the colonial wars – ranging from aeroplanes and helicopters to rifles and landmines – come from NATO countries.

BRITAIN: LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

At the invitation of the British Labour Party, a FRELIMO representative attended the Labour Party Annual Conference, where he delivered a message of greetings.

While in Britain, the FRELIMO representative spoke at a meeting organised by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement on the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

Finally, our delegate participated in several other meetings and working sessions with the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné-Bissau.

SEPTEMBER 25 IN TANZANIA

Demonstrations in support of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people took place in different parts of Tanzania on the 25th of September, Mozambique Revolution Day.

In Dar es Salaam, the Congress of TANU which was being held, reaffirmed unanimously the total solidarity of TANU, of the Government and of the Tanzanian people with our liberation struggle. FRELIMO addressed a message to the Congress, hailing the great victories already achieved by TANU and by the Tanzanian people in the struggle for the building of socialism, and reiterating the determination of the Mozambican people to continue, without faltering, the common struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

M.R. IN ITALIAN

On November 15, 1973, there took place in Bologna the launching of the first issue of the Italian edition of «Mozambique Revolution». A FRELIMO delegation was present at the ceremony.

This initiative by the Bologna Committee for Free Mozambique, represents an important contribution to the spreading in Italy of information on the liberation struggle in Mozambique, and therefore for the strengthening of the solidarity of the Italian people with FRELIMO and with the Mozambican people.

At the ceremony, the STEB with which FRELIMO established a Friendship Pact in March, 1973, offered to provide valuable equipment to FRELIMO's information services.



A guard of honour welcomes President Samora at Mogadishu Airport. With him is Maj.-Gen. Kulmie, Somalia's First Vice-President.

STRONGER LINKS WITH SOMALIA

From 26 to 30 December, 1973, a five-man FRELIMO delegation headed by the President, Comrade Samora Machel, visited the Democratic Republic of Somalia at the invitation of the Supreme Revolutionary Council. Our comrades' arrival at Mogadishu Airport was marked by a 21-gun salute and Comrade Samora, accompanied by the Somali First Vice-President, Major-General Hussein Kulmie, inspected a guard of honour mounted by members of the Somali Armed Forces. The Somali and FRELIMO national anthems were played.

The purpose of our visit was to learn from the revolutionary experiences of Somalia and to strengthen the relations of friendship and solidarity between our two peoples.

Our delegation had talks with President Mohamed Siad Barre, the Political Bureau and the Supreme Revolutionary Council. The FRELIMO delegation also saw a number of Somali institutions and development projects. Among these were an agricultural production centre, schools, an orphanage and a Revolutionary Education Centre for young people. The delegation also participated in a national project planting cactuses to prevent the desert sand from reaching populated areas. In addition, President Samora opened the annual course at the Centre for Political and Military Education.

Seeing the way Somalia is tackling her problems confirmed for us that there is a true people's revolution going on there, and that liberated Mozambique and the Republic of Somalia have much in common in the realm of political orientation. Somalia offered to increase aid to FRELIMO, and both agreed to continue to exchange experiences and information through visiting delegations.



Flowers at a Youth Centre

Canadian solidarity group finds scope for action



This is the first of a series of articles about the activities of groups in the West who support the liberation struggle in Africa. These reports are contributed by the groups concerned.

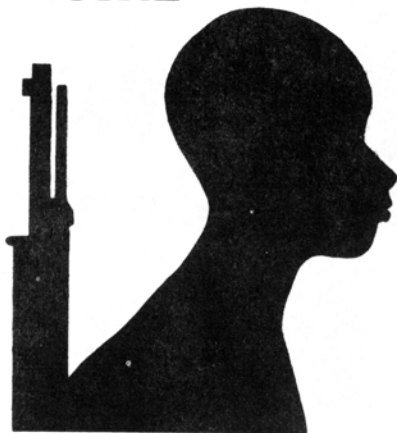
The Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Portugal's African Colonies (TCLPAC) was founded only in late 1972 and represented the initiative of people in Toronto, many of whom had worked in Africa and who were concerned about the lack of public awareness of, and support for, the liberation movements fighting in Portugal's African colonies. Of course we understood clearly that the struggle for freedom in all parts of Southern Africa is indivisible, but we have chosen to focus our attention upon the Portuguese colonies because the contradictions in Canadian policy are particularly visible with respect to them. In addition, it was decided to concentrate in the first instance, upon the heavily populated Toronto area, this city also being the financial centre of Canada; our further intention was to link up, where possible, with other support groups (some of which have been active for several years) elsewhere in this very diverse country.

There is certainly scope for action on this issue in Canada. Despite this country's largely unearned reputation for benevolence in some parts of independent Africa, the contradictions in Canada's Southern African policy are, as stated, most glaring. Thus, vis-à-vis «Portuguese

Africa», the policy is a combination of pious expressions of distaste for Portuguese colonialism on the one hand and «business as usual» with Portugal on the other. Firstly, Canada is a silent partner to NATO's complicity in Portugal's African wars. Secondly, Canada is also a trade partner with the Portuguese in Africa of growing significance — the world's number one importer of Cabinda oil, for example, and the second leading importer of Angolan coffee. Alcan's involvement in Cabora Bassa, and the Canadian government's refusal even to consider taking action despite some measure of public protest is well known, though no more significant an indication of Canada's role than the recent appointment of a special Canadian trade representative in Luanda to encourage trade with Portuguese-dominated Africa! Finally, Canada has been a power extremely reluctant to give the liberation movements, at the U.N. or elsewhere, anything like their rightful status as spokesmen and spokeswomen for the colonised peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné; the tactic here has been to adopt an anachronistic and really quite dishonest emphasis upon the advisability of «peaceful solutions».

As this brief survey indicates, support groups like TCLPAC have their work cut out for them in trying to affect Canadian policy. We have chosen, as a result, both to adopt a long-term perspective and to avoid too narrow and unrealistic a focus upon «influencing government policy». As a result we are building our group and our strategies for such a long-term effort. We assume that the situation is escalating ineluctably in Southern Africa and that countries like Canada will have to make much more difficult and overt choices of side in the future. But African issues have been very marginal to the concern of most Canadians in the past; there is a danger that national decisions will be made, as was the case for many years with respect to Vietnam, in a vacuum and without knowledgeable criticism, even from the Left. To lessen the likelihood of this happening, basic public education, often of a relatively unspectacular kind, becomes a major priority, and to that end TCLPAC is pursuing all opportunities

ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE GUINE



**Support
Their
Liberation
Struggle**

TCLPAC
121 Avenue Road
Toronto 5, Ontario

to present programmes to political, worker, church and school groups. Thus, the establishment of an effective Speakers' Bureau is a current priority. We have also developed a literature list and mobile literature stand which have had wide use, and there has been a major effort to gain access to the media, including our own production of several television programmes.

However, our most ambitious undertaking to date in this sphere was to participate with some 20 other groups in the mounting of a «counter-conference» in Ottawa at the time of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting (August, 1973); this was the «People's Forum on Southern Africa and the Commonwealth», with special emphasis on the theme «Zimbabwe: the missing Delegation». A woman from TCLPAC served as co-chairperson of the steering committee and generally our committee played a very active role in the coalition. As many as 300 people attended sessions during the three-day forum, with speakers



Cinema of Solidarity in Toronto

including representatives from most of the Southern Africa Liberation Movements, Mr. Malecela, the Tanzanian Foreign Minister, and speakers and analysts from a wide range of western support groups. The Forum did earn a measure of media coverage for the Southern African struggles, provided for a useful exchange of information among activists, and helped open new lines of communications with other groups.

One of TCLPAC's three sub-committees concerns itself primarily with such «public education» but this is only one of the group's functions. As much as possible we intend that education (of ourselves and others) should lead to action, even in the short-run. Thus, a second sub-committee is concerned with «leverage» — the attempt to bring pressure to bear upon Canadian institutions to modify their actions and lift their support of the Portuguese to even some degree. A first priority here was to determine the precise extent and character of Canadian complicity in Portuguese colonialism; much of the early work of the leverage sub-committee therefore was devoted to research in this sphere, leading to the writing of several brief position papers (for internal distribution and for sale) and a longer document on Canadian complicity which is now in press. Fortified by this on-going analysis we worked with Dr. Bosgra of the Angola Comité, for example, when he came to Canada as part of his mission to various «moderate» NATO countries, a visit designed to stimulate their coordinated opposition to NATO within the alliance. We were able to stimulate some parliamentary activity on this issue, though with relatively marginal

effect it must be admitted. We also organised parallel campaigns around the question of Canadian recognition of Guiné when that country established itself as an independent state.

However, direct economic action — protest and publicity, ethical investing and institutional purchasing campaigns, boycotts — has seemed an even more promising tactic, and as a result we have recently been concentrating our attention upon Gulf Oil Canada Ltd.. In April several of our members fired the first shots in this campaign by attending the Gulf Annual General Meeting, eliciting new information about Gulf operations in Canada (the large quantities of Angolan oil coming to Point Tupper in Nova Scotia are «merely» cleaned here, we were told and then sent on to the United States!) and announcing our concern.

But even more forthright steps against Gulf are now in train which will make this a focal point of our activity in coming months. In addition, we hope to cooperate more actively than we have thus far with groups in Canada which have established the boycott of Angolan coffee as a weapon of great promise, especially in Quebec. We think that Mozambican cashews may offer a similar target (particularly if a supply of «liberated» cashews from free Mozambique can be guaranteed as a substitute) for campaigns which not only bear some promise of having an economic impact but which also provide a focus for claiming public attention. Here the leverage and public education functions converge.

A third sub-committee also focusses upon action — the action of providing material



John Saul, one of the founding members of TCLPAC, visited the liberated areas of Tete in August, 1972

aid for the liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné. This is the most direct way in which Canadians can recognise the legitimate claims to pre-eminence of these movements even while our government refuses to do so. Here our major action thus far has been the mounting of the «Cinema of Solidarity», series of progressive Third World Films presented in the Toronto area throughout the spring of 1973; we netted almost thirty-five hundred dollars (\$3500) from this and hope to duplicate such a success this fall. Our target for year's end to be earned from these film series and by direct fund-raising is a minimum of ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) which now

seems a realistic one, and we have agreed to use these funds to provide FRELIMO with a badly needed heavy vehicle at that time. In addition we have embarked upon campaigns directed towards the collection of clothes and medicines for the liberation movements. Again, of course, material aid work overlaps with our other functions: at the final showing in our film series, when Van Lierop's «A Luta Continua» and a film made by the Chinese inside Mozambique were presented, Jorge Rebelo, FRELIMO's Secretary of Information, addressed the crowd of well over 500 in attendance. There can be no doubt that the evening's programme made a very powerful impression

on these people.

Organisationally, it is in the sub-committees responsible for these various activities that the main work of TCLPAC is done and they must meet as regularly as is necessary to perform such tasks effectively. However, the entire committee meets at least once a month to review and coordinate the entire range of activities, and to chart future policy. At present the membership is 120 people, of whom about 40 constitute the most active core, and we have one full-time paid staff member. This seems a good start for a relatively new support group, though there is still a great deal of work to be done to consolidate the ground we have won and to ensure TCLPAC's long-run viability.

Thus interest is growing and no doubt it will continue to do so. Certainly we are making every effort to link the struggle in Mozambique and the rest of white-dominated Africa to Canadian developments and to make these struggles a relevant focus of solidarity for the Canadian movement. Most members of our own committee, for example, have already learned a great deal about Canada in the very course of joining hands with the revolutions in Portugal's African colonies — including lessons about Canada's often negative role on the imperialist side of the world-wide balance of forces and about the way in which Canada's own position as a virtual «colony» (of the United States) helps to determine such a role for this country (the example of Gulf Oil Canada Limited and Cabinda oil being a particularly revealing one). Moreover these are the terms in which we intend to continue deepening our links with liberation movements such as FRELIMO: not as charitably-minded liberals expecting thanks for our efforts but as partners in the struggle against a world-wide system which oppresses us all. We are certain that FRELIMO would welcome support on no other grounds.

«... The deep roots struck in the soil of popular awakening and self-assertion are vital in supplying the guerrilla forces with much of their essential élan. It is incumbent upon those who misunderstand or fear revolutionary nationalism to adjust their attitudes. Not only is a violent response to colonial violence the sole means for obtaining freedom in Portugal's African colonies, but in addition, social revolution is the sine qua non of this genuine liberation.»

Excerpt from a pamphlet about to be published by the TCLPAC

Poem near the sea

It is not the sea
casually lapping
at the white sand

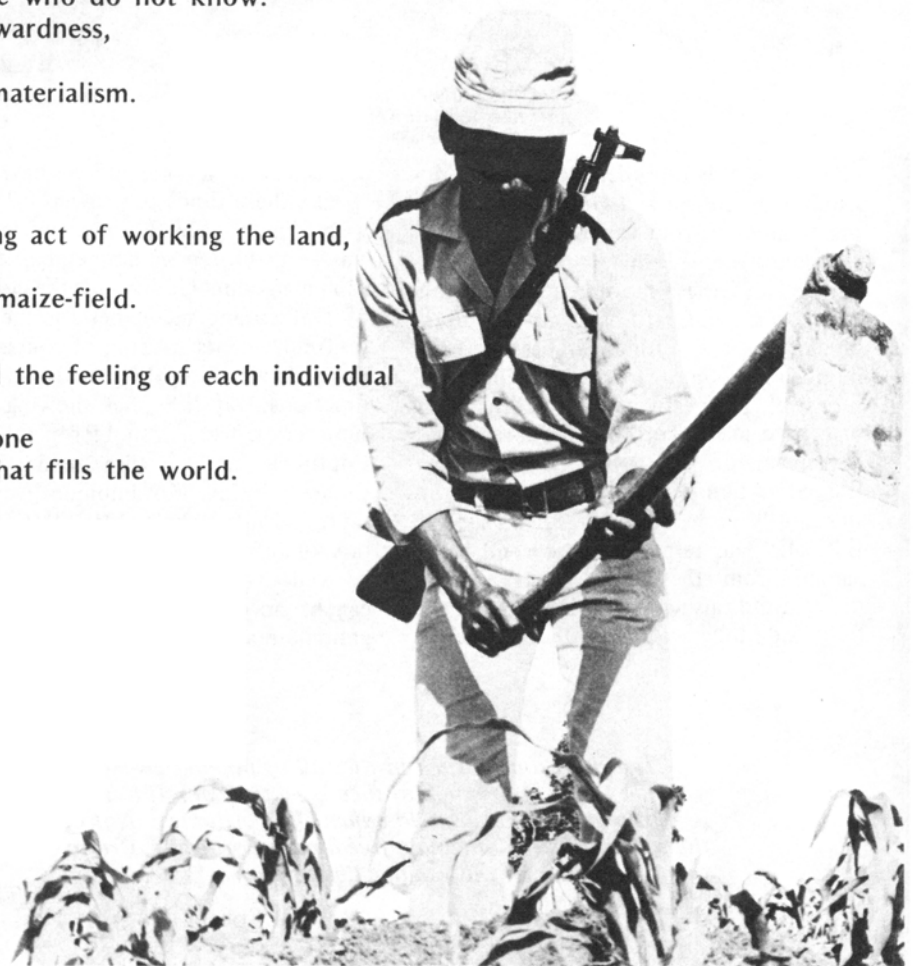
nor
the moon
shining smugly
on the silver fronds of the palm trees.

The essential
is the new consciousness;
knowledge
made the instrument of those who do not know.
Ignorance, superstition, backwardness,
crumbling like sand-castles
in the wind of science and materialism.

What matters
is the union of the intellect
with the hand
in the collective and liberating act of working the land,
so that for all will grow
the undulating green of the maize-field.

What matters
is the mind and the acts and the feeling of each individual
merging in the community
like drops of water one by one
creating an immense ocean that fills the world.

Near the sea,
a new poem
for new men.



VISITORS IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE



The visitors address a public meeting

Our gratitude to President Samora Machel, FRELIMO and the Mozambican people for welcoming our first delegation to the liberated areas of Cabo Delgado Province.

TANU Youths thank you for the huge carving symbolising UNITY : united we are with you in the struggle against colonial and capitalist oppression.

We did march and talk a lot with the heroic combatants of FRELIMO.

We did some grounding with the Mozambican people.

We traversed up the mountains, down the valleys, across the streams, and under cover of the thick, evergreen Mozambican forest.

We learnt about the Mozambican Revolution from the Mozambican People for twenty five days: production, study and combat were what we saw.

Schools, dispensaries, shambas and guns, of course, where there were none before. Those vital instruments of your armed struggle and the Revolution.

The guns that summon freedom

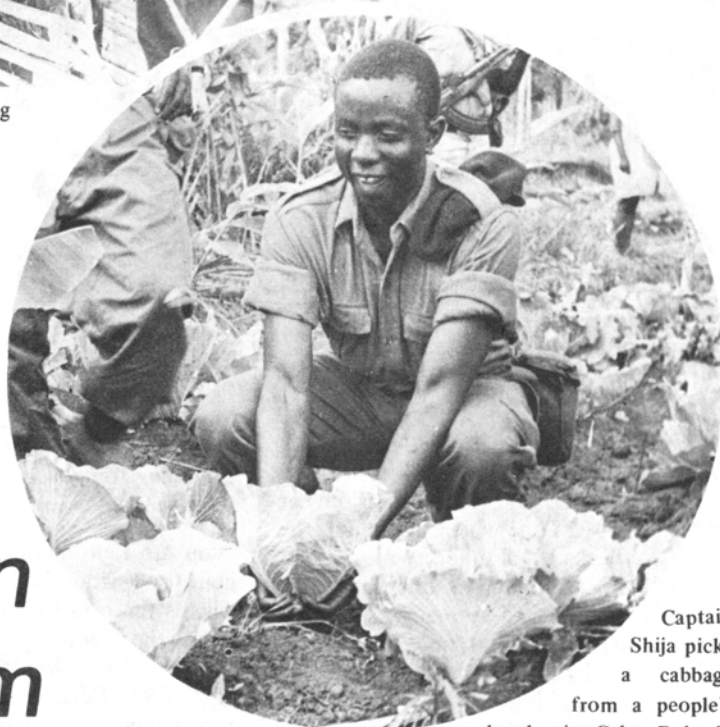
We heard the voice of peasants, students and combatants all in unison with a complex mixture of anger, hope and determination signifying the SUCCESS of the combination of the People's War, People's Army evolved by FRELIMO's correct ideological analysis.

We went into your country full of apprehension because we didn't know. We have come back full of confidence

and certainty that the Mozambican Revolution will triumph from the Ruvuma to the Maputo.

We remember the thundering of scared Portuguese bomber jets which dare not come within the range of the Mozambican people. We saw the isolated enemy posts and the croaking enemy helicopters rushing in to supply them with food; meanwhile they remain imprisoned by the

For 25 days at the end of October and beginning of November a three-man delegation from the TANU Youth League of Tanzania marched deep into liberated Cabo Delgado. The delegation consisted of Morogoro Urban District Chairman Selemán Malongoza, Iringa Region Secretary Ali Mchungu and Cpt. Andrew Shija, Deputy Secretary-General of the TYL. Here they comment on their journey.



Captain Shija picks a cabbage from a people's shamba in Cabo Delgado

mighty force of the Mozambican people; the Revolution keeping a close surveillance on them.

And at dawn or at sunset we would hear the staccato of machine-guns, rockets and cannons summoning Mozambican Freedom.

Comrades, you will win. This is the message we are carrying to our People.

Long live the liberation war!

VISITORS IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE



Christie with our President in Cabo Delgado



Journalist Iain Christie on the march with FRELIMO

Frelimo's victories are our victories

To the Editor,
Mozambique Revolution:

You have asked me if I would contribute an article describing my impressions of the FRELIMO zone which I visited in the last two weeks of October. With respect, I would suggest that Mozambique Revolution has published so many articles by visiting journalists that my own contribution would only duplicate those reports. Instead, I would like to tell you something I wanted to say to the people of Cabo Delgado when I was there, but didn't, perhaps because I felt that they were rather too busy building a nation to listen to my opinions. I would have told them this:

Your President, Comrade Samora Machel, has told you that I am a Scottish journalist, living in Dar es Salaam and working for the Tanzanian Government; that I have been reporting on the struggle in Mozambique, from the point of view of a supporter of FRELIMO, for several years; that I have been involved in other activities to assist your struggle. Therefore he says, I come as a friend, as a comrade.

This is true. But perhaps the emphasis is too much on what I and other anti-imperialist elements from the West are doing for you. The truth is that what we are doing for you is nothing compared to what you are doing for us.

You are fighting and dying to free your country from Portuguese colonialism. This is the priority. But it is clear to me from the people I have met in Cabo Delgado, from the schools I have visited, that FRELIMO is taking on an even bigger challenge. That is to ensure that the Mozambican people, once independent, do not suffer the same fate as many other former colonies: exploitation by indigenous parasites and international imperialism operating through its neo-colonial machinery. Your struggle may last for many more years but victory is certain and, when it comes, you will have significantly eroded the power of imperialism in this continent — and in the world at large. Even today every victory you score is a victory against imperialism, and therefore a victory for us.

The forces in the West which support FRELIMO are not doing you a favour.

Imperialism will be weakened by the liberation of Mozambique, just as it has already been weakened by losing its economic control of countries like China and Cuba. And one day the great liberation movement of the world's colonised and neo-colonised peoples will have weakened imperialism to the extent that it no longer has the strength to resist the anti-imperialist struggle in the West itself. This is so because international capitalism depends for its very existence on you and peoples like you. And when control of oil, coffee, gold, diamonds, cotton, tungsten and cocoa fall out of imperialism's hands and into the hands of the workers and peasants who produce them, imperialism's greatest crisis will begin. Then, at least the objective conditions for struggle will exist in the West.

So someday, perhaps, my children or grandchildren will be able to repay your hospitality to me by inviting someone from the Republic of Mozambique to come and witness our struggle. If this ever happens it will be due in no small part to the courage and determination of the people of Mozambique.

IAIN CHRISTIE

VISITORS IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE

In November, at the invitation of FRELIMO, the Tanzanian Government sent its first delegation to the liberated zones of Mozambique. This six-man mission, led by the Commissioner for Mtwara Region, Mr. Chediel Mgonja, was met at N'gapa District Headquarters in Cabo Delgado by our President, Comrade Samora Machel, and the Deputy Secretary for Defence, Comrade Alberto Joaquim Chipande.

During the visit Mr. Mgonja who is also Regional Secretary of TANU in Mtwara, addressed a public meeting organised by FRELIMO. At the meeting he conveyed revolutionary greetings to the people of Mozambique, their liberation movement and their leaders from President Nyerere, the Tanzanian Government and TANU.

The Commissioner said the delegation had seen for themselves the people's achievements in the liberated areas and could see clearly that FRELIMO was in full control of all the areas they visited.

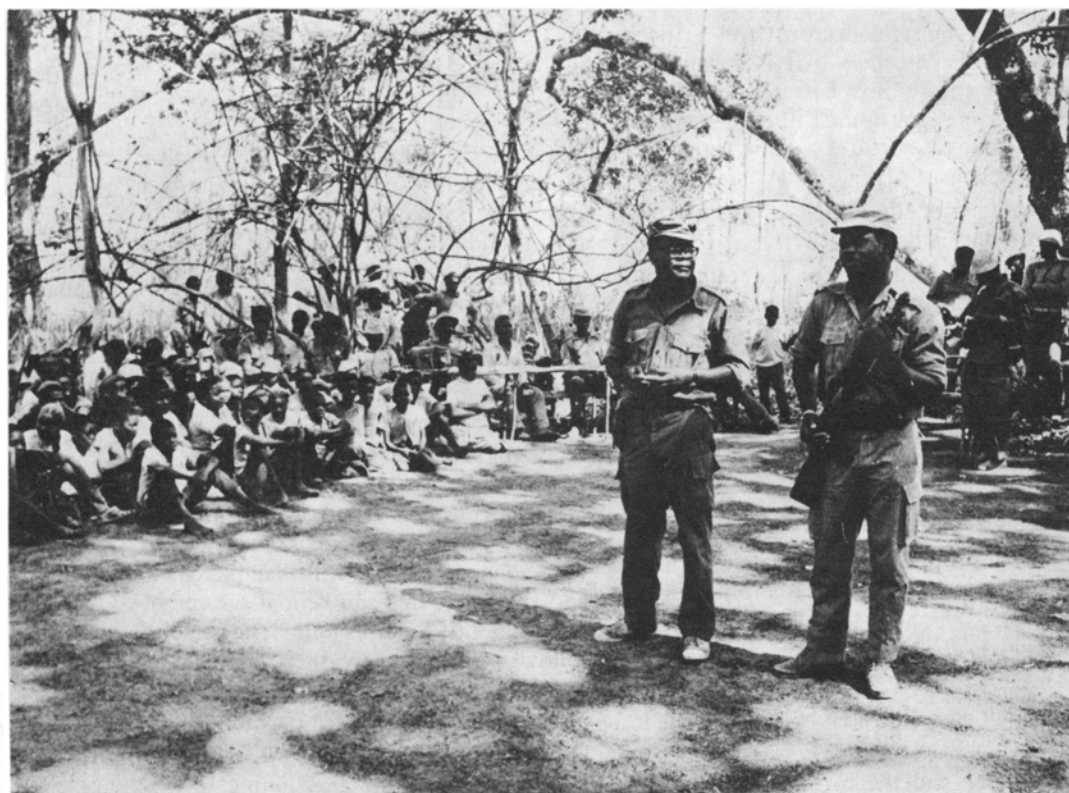
Mr. Mgonja assured the people of Mozambique that their war of liberation was Tanzania's war as well. He said his delegation had been greatly inspired by the victories of the Mozambican people in their armed struggle and by the advances made in the field of national reconstruction.

This visit was another manifestation of the profound solidarity existing between the Party and the Government of Tanzania with FRELIMO.

*Top: Mr. Mgonja joins in a Frelimo salute with President Samora and other militants.
Bottom: Addressing a public meeting in N'gapa District.*



TANZANIA GOVERNMENT DELEGATION IN CABO DELGADO



A typical component in the machinery of oppression by fascist regimes is torture. The Portuguese prisons of Mozambique are no exception. There, political prisoners are continually subjected to brutality by the colonialists — as Agostinho Thawe explains in this statement to the UN Commission on Human Rights.

I was a teacher in the Anglican Mission of Messumba (Niassa) when I was arrested on the 11th September, 1964. Officially freed on the 8th January, 1971, I stayed in prison until the 26th February, 1971; that is for nearly 7 years, and I was never on trial.

From September to October, 1964, I was kept in the prison at Vila Cabral. On the 10th October, I was sent to the penitentiary of Lourenço Marques where I stayed till the month of March, 1965. From March to July, 1965, I was kept in the Machava Prison. In July I was transferred to the Pinto Teixeira working camps in Mabalane. In 1968 I was sent back to Machava and sent back again to Pinto Teixeira in 1969 where I stayed until the 8th January, 1971. I was then brought back to Lourenço Marques where I was finally freed in February, 1971.

THE INTERROGATIONS

It is the most dangerous and critical time for the prisoners. It is during this phase that many prisoners lose their lives. While being questioned the prisoner is submitted to tortures. The principle tortures consist of:

- being «ironed» with a hot clothes iron on the back;
 - being suspended from the ceiling by the hands;
 - being kept on bended knees on the sand for days;
 - being submitted to electric shocks;
 - being forced to swallow pills or receive injections that disturb the nervous system;
 - being kept in a frozen room;
 - being whipped, being beaten with a «palmatoria» or with a baton (cassee-tete);
 - being beaten with a perforated «palmatoria»;
 - being tied and beaten by six policemen.
- When the prisoner faints, he is revived with water and the torture starts again.



Inside Caetano's prisons

Amongst the prisoners many die because of these tortures and others, in the war zones, are killed by the soldiers. One of my friends Estevão Njilamo, died in Machava as a consequence of the blows he received while being interrogated.

Many prisoners bear scars and others become mad or handicapped.

During the period between 1965 and 1968 the army used to come and take away prisoners who had finished the investigations phase and use them as mine detectors in front of their military convoys. The prisoners' eyes were closed with adhesive tape or with handkerchiefs and they were tied and kept at the end of a rope about 10 metres long. The vehicles followed them. Now they don't come anymore to take people away from the prisons. For detecting mines now, they use people they capture in the war zones. But even after the questioning, every-

thing, the forced labour, the medical assistance, the food, the sleeping quarters, the water, everything is used to punish us.

FOOD

At Mabalane the food was of a very bad quality. It was mostly rice husks or maize of the quality normally given to chickens. In Machava it was even worse. Several times I saw people fainting from hunger sometimes even dying. The quantity of food sufficient for one person was given to four. The situation got even worse after 1966. We were given half a cup of rice, three quarters of a cup of beans per day. When we received flakes we received a whole cup but no sugar. We never had meat, only small bones «meticulously scraped» as we said in the letter that we — I and six others — sent to the inspector of the Section of Prisons from PIDE in Machava.

The sauce was like water, no oil, no onions, no tomato, sometimes even without salt. Diarrhoea was frequent due to bad food.

SLEEPING BARRACKS

At Mabalane we slept on the ground. From 1967 onwards we were given blankets every two years.

It was much worse at Machava where, at the moment of my departure there were 4,700 prisoners sharing the three wards reserved for the political prisoners.

The people were stacked like tinned sardines, pressed against one another, the feet of one on the head of the other.

In these conditions epidemics were frequent and spread easily among the prisoners. This was aggravated by the fact that the authorities did everything to make the hygienic conditions worse.

We could see that the sleeping barracks were used as a means to put an end to the prisoners' lives.

HYGIENE

At Mabalane, like in Machava, there were taps and showers. Nevertheless, during the hot season (the rainy season) the authorities used to cut the water and only turn it on every two days, while in the cold season (dry season) there was water every day but only from 3 to 5 o'clock in the morning. All this shows that bathing was also a method of punishment. Soap was very seldom given and when

there was any at all, they gave us only very small pieces, not even 2 cms.

CLOTHING

From November, 1967 onwards at Mabalane, clothes were only given every two years.

These clothes were quickly destroyed because of the labour we were forced to do. On the other hand, the civilian clothes of the prisoners were kept in a store where the rain leaked in and where it was very damp. Thus the clothes were ruined. Sometimes we were not given blankets and when those were given they were more like rags and full of fleas.

The lack of clothes was also a form of punishment for the prisoners.

MEDICAL ASSISTANCE

In the Machava Prison, recently the health assistance improved because there were male nurses among the political prisoners. Before, the doctors and male nurses only came twice a year to collect blood from the prisoners in order to use it in the military hospitals. Against their will, the prisoners gave their blood for the wounded Portuguese soldiers. Lately they came to collect blood once a year. In Mabalane it was worse because there were no male nurses amongst the political prisoners.

WALKS

The two walking periods that were given to the prisoners of the Machava prison did not even come to one hour altogether. Prisoners were locked in the rest of the time.

At Mabalane the prisoners had more time to stay out because it was a forced labour camp.

TRAVELLING

Sometimes the prisoners had to travel. If they had to go by train they were locked up in cattle wagons. If they had to travel by boat, they were thrown into holds like bags. Because of this some prisoners die and others become handicapped.

During some of these sea voyages some of my friends and relations were killed or hurt. That's how a teacher, David, was killed on the voyage from Mozambique to Lourenço Marques. Chief Mohequene from Chinanga (Metangula) was also killed during the same voyage, as

well as a boy named Aide, from Nampula who had his skull fractured. The body of the latter was thrown into the sea.

The Reverend Father Paulo Litumbi had both his legs broken and can only walk with the help of crutches. Teachers Aido Lilinga and Jaime Farahane had their arms broken.

COMPLAINTS

Complaints are not accepted.

In 1968 six other prisoners and myself addressed a written complaint to the Inspector of the Prisoners' Section of the PIDE in Machava. The reaction from the authorities was to lock us up in disciplinary cells. We stayed there in solitary confinement from 6 August, 1968 to 6 July, 1969, that is eleven months.

WORKING CONDITIONS

The prisoners, myself included, were submitted to forced labour in the Mabalane Prison.

The day's work, under the sun, or in the rain, went on from 5 a.m. to 5 p.m. We worked on the plantations digging irrigation canals. Whilst working we were insulted and beaten by the prison wardens. The plantation's products, rice, maize, kenaf, etc. were not for us to eat, only the onion leaves and the rotten tomatoes and paw-paws. Prisoners were also forced to work in the houses of the PIDE agents from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m.

On the other hand, in the Machava prison from January, 1971 onwards, prisoners were forced to work on building constructions, in the port as dockers and on the railways.

BURIALS

In Mabalane it was permitted to bury the deceased prisoners, but we had to collect money among ourselves to pay for the burial. Twenty to thirty prisoners were permitted to follow the burial procession and decently bury their comrade.

In Machava we knew nothing of what happened to the dead. From what was said, the bodies were used to fertilise the banana and fruit tree plantations. I've never heard of anybody that could locate the grave of a Machava prisoner.

Therefore I have no difficulty in believing that the bodies were used as fertilisers since I learnt from a very reliable source that in the prison of Nhangao

(Manica e Sofala), the wardens used the bodies of the prisoners that they killed, or that of the dogs killed, as fertilisers.

MURDERS

I saw many crimes being committed during my lengthy detention. I saw 16 cases of direct murder or of death caused by violence. The last case was the one of the group of the 40, that happened in the prison of Machava.

Denounced by infiltrated agents, they were submitted to cruelties, with the intention of killing them if they refused to betray their cause or their comrades inside and outside the prison. They were locked in special cells, stripped and watered down two or three times a day with a hose pipe. They stayed for some days without food. When they were given food it was very salty, while they were deprived of drinking water.

I can tell of ten people who were killed as a consequence of this, between April and October, 1970. They were:

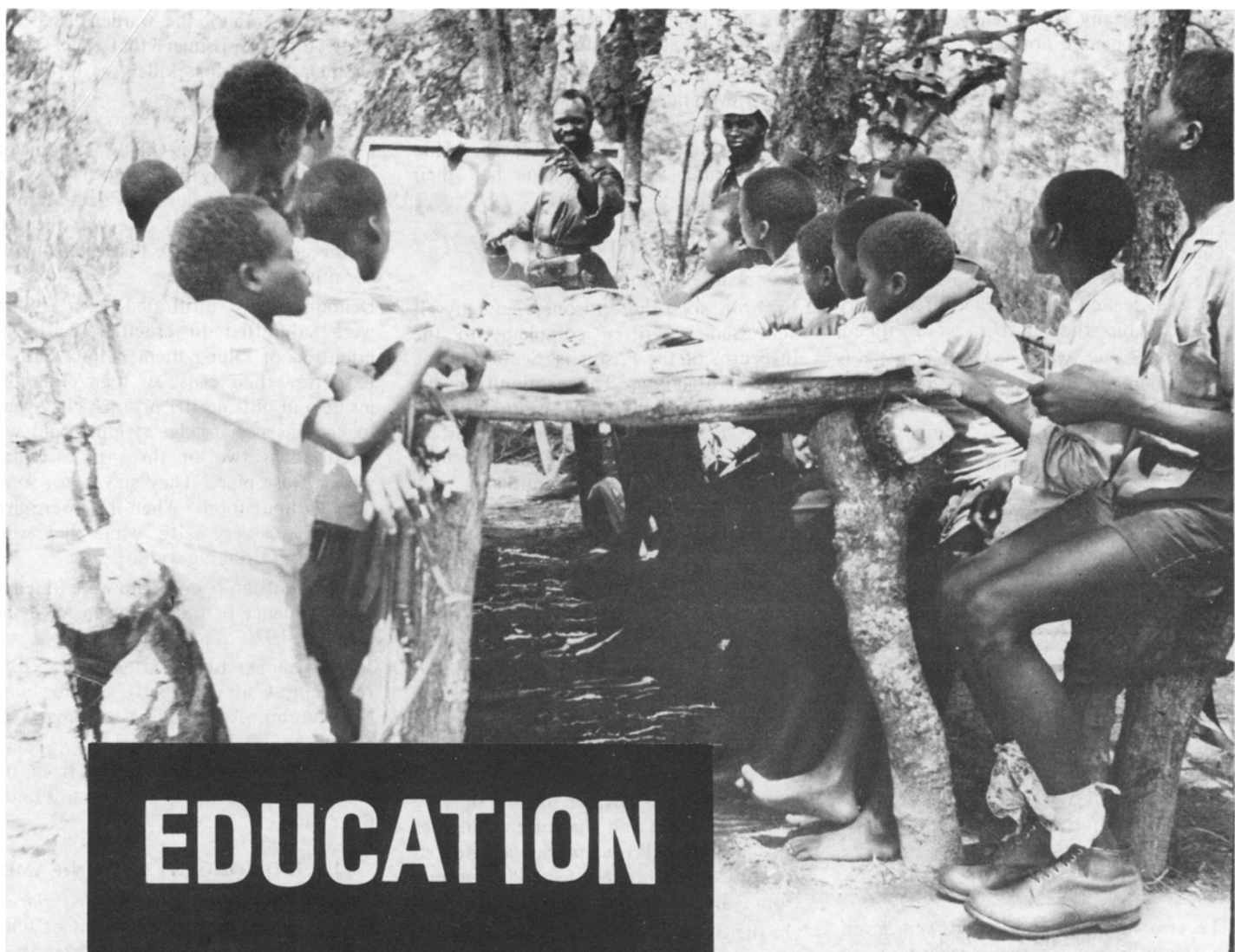
Joel Maduna, Bila, Carlos Juma, João Agostinho Chitete, Alberto Mudao, Jaime Nhantumbo, Alexandre Nchicoma, Jose Salimo.

I also saw two other people from the group that were dead, but I do not know their names.

THE IBO CONCENTRATION CAMP

Though I did not stay in this concentration camp, I came into contact with several people who had actually been there. The prisoners coming from Ibo were extremely thin, others had parts of their bodies swollen or suffered from anaemia. It was the military police that watched over the prisoners at Ibo. (The prisoners at Ibo are mostly war prisoners). They were kept locked in all the time, they had no right to walking periods.

In the cells there were halves of barrels, used as toilets. In the morning the prisoners, naked, formed in lines, were forced to go and bathe in the sea and take the toilets with them to be cleaned. Going to the sea and coming back, they had to pass between lines of soldiers armed with sticks and whips and they were beaten. Coming back from the sea, the barrels were full of salt water and the prisoners were forced to drink it. Because of these punishments, there are more deaths in the Ibo camp than in any other prison.



EDUCATION IN THE REVOLUTION

*PRESIDENT SAMORA
MACHEL'S ADDRESS
TO THE SECOND
CONFERENCE OF
FREILIMO'S DEPARTMENT
OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE*

Comrade delegates to the 2nd Conference of the Department of Education and Culture,

We are happy to take part in this 2nd Conference of the Department of Education and Culture because Culture and Education are fundamental problems of our people on which the creation of a new mentality ultimately depends. We also believe that meeting and discussing our work and methods is the most reliable way of guiding our action.

This Conference is starting at a time when we are celebrating the most important date in our history. The fact that this Conference is taking place is a result of our struggle, of the fierce struggle against colonialism, and the tough and tricky struggle against reactionary forces among us. It is a victory of the many who have sacrificed their lives to drive out the Portuguese colonialists and to expose the new exploiters.

The Conference therefore takes on special significance, for bloodshed and sacrifice lie behind it. It was made possible by the clarification and consolidation embarked on amid our ranks.

We must therefore carry on the work that has just been started and avoid patting ourselves on the back for victories achieved, forgetting the very great deal that remains to be done.

Because our Education has been born of bloodshed, it is only right that we should pay tribute to those who have fallen for our country. More than anyone else, Eduardo Mondlane symbolised our struggle to free Man from the colonial yoke and from obscurantism.

I therefore request that we observe a minute of silence in his memory and in memory of all the comrades who have laid down their lives.

This Conference has set itself the task of analysing the work achieved, discovering the errors and shortcomings in our activity and, based on our principles, promoting the implementation of the tasks entrusted to the Department by FRELIMO's leading organs.

Other documents to be submitted to the Conference contain detailed analyses of the work done, of the great deal that has been done and the vast amount we still have to do. Here we wish simply to put forward a few themes for reflection which, as they express the preoccupations of FRELIMO's leadership, will help to guide us in our work.

After demonstrating the harmfulness of both traditional and colonial education, we should like to explain the educational goals we have set ourselves in relation to the new society we are struggling for.

At the same time, it is essential that we establish guiding lines which take into account the immediate imperatives of the situation, the need to unite the people, to deepen our knowledge of our country's society and environment, to advance the war and to reconstruct the nation.

Finally, we wish to formulate what seem to us the most correct methods of facing problems successfully within a revolutionary perspective.

I. EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

Each society always seeks to ensure its survival through new generations, passing on its accumulated knowledge and experience. However, since society exists within the framework of its structures, its survival obviously involves the perpetuation of these structures, however oppres-

sive they may be. In this context, the education that is passed on, because it is a reflection of an actual society, serves to justify that society: its economic structures, its social customs, its ethical and artistic concepts, in short, the culture of that society.

In the present phase in Mozambique, there are three antagonistic types of education, two of them reflecting societies which are on their way out and the third directed towards the future.

a) Traditional education

Although the colonialists dealt a powerful blow to traditional society, traditional education is still the dominant form of education in Mozambique.

Owing to their superficial knowledge of nature, members of traditional society conceive of it as a series of forces of supernatural origin which are to varying degrees hostile to man. Hence the fact that superstition takes the place of science in education. Furthermore, the poor development of the traditional economy based on subsistence agriculture results in the isolation of the community.

Taking advantage of the superstition among the masses and the community's isolation, certain social groups are able to maintain their retrograde rule over society.

In this context education aims at passing on tradition, which is raised to the level of a dogma. The system of age groups and initiation rites is intended to keep the youth under the sway of old ideas, to destroy their initiative. All that is new, different and foreign is opposed in the name of tradition. Thus all progress is prevented and the society survives in a completely static way.

Women are regarded as second class human beings, subjected to the humiliating practice of polygamy, acquired through a gift made to their families, inherited by the husband's family on his death, and educated to serve man passively.

b) Colonial education

Whereas innovation and science are seen to disrupt the fossilised structures of the past, conversely capitalism uses them to exploit men more.

The more traditional society fights individualism, the more capitalism promotes it, in that it creates in the exploiter the required mentality for exploiting his victim and prevents the exploited from uniting with their comrades to overcome oppression.

In Mozambique, a colonial country, social discrimination in education is accentuated by racial discrimination. Education is reserved almost exclusively for the children of settlers, and particularly higher education, which is for the children of rich settlers.

In addition to its overall purpose of reinforcing bourgeois oppression, colonial education seeks particularly to depersonalise the Mozambican. Removed from his people whom he is taught to look down upon, isolated by the individualism instilled in him, with no dimension in time provided by his own history, ignorant of the space determined by his own geography, living on imported ideas, deformed by the decadent attitudes of colonial society, the Mozambican is supposed to become a black-skinned Portuguese, a docile tool of colonialism whose highest ambition is to live like the settler in whose image he is created.

c) Revolutionary education

When we took up arms to defeat the old order, we felt the obscure need to create a new society, strong, healthy and prosperous, in which men free from all exploitation would cooperate for the progress of all.

In the course of our struggle, in the tough fight we have had to wage against reactionary elements, we came to understand our objectives more clearly. We felt especially that the struggle to create new structures would fail without the creation of a new mentality.

Creating an attitude of solidarity between people to enable them to carry out collective work presupposes the elimination of individualism. Developing a healthy and revolutionary morality which promotes the liberation of women and the creation of a new generation with a collective feeling of responsibility requires the destruction of inherited corrupt ideas and tastes. In order to lay the foundations of a prosperous and advanced economy, science has to overcome superstition. To unite all Mozambicans, transcending traditions and different languages, requires that the tribe must die in our consciousness so that the nation may be born.

What I mean by this is that to us education does not mean teaching how to read and write, creating an elite group of graduates, with no direct relationship to our objectives. In other words, just as one can wage an armed struggle without carrying out a revolution, one can also learn without educating oneself in a revolutionary way. We do not want to

form an educated elite at the service of an exploitative group. We do not want science to be used to enrich a minority, oppress man and stifle the creative initiative of the masses, the inexhaustible source of collective progress. Each of us must assume his revolutionary responsibilities in education, regarding books, study, as tools at the exclusive service of the masses. Studying must be seen as a revolutionary task to be combined with the revolutionary tasks of production and fighting. He who studies should be like a spark lighting the flame which is the people.

The principal task of education, in our teaching, textbooks and programmes, is to instill in each of us the advanced, scientific, objective and collective ideology which enables us to progress in the revolutionary process.

Education must prepare us to internalise the new society and its requirements.

Education must give us a Mozambican personality which, without subservience of any kind and steeped in our own realities, will be able, in contact with the outside world, to assimilate critically the ideas and experiences of other peoples, also passing on to them the fruits of our thought and practice.

We need a consciousness of responsibility and collective solidarity, free from all individualism and corruption. We have to acquire a scientific attitude, open and free from the dead weight of superstition and dogmatic traditions.

We need particularly to create a new attitude in women, emancipating their consciousness and behaviour, and at the same time instill in men new behaviour and attitudes towards women.

We must make everyone aware of the need to serve the people, to participate in production, to respect manual labour, to release creative initiative and to develop a sense of responsibility. In short, what we want is a revolutionary mentality which uses science to serve the people. Our continued progress depends on the new generation. Today there are young people growing up away from colonialism, away from dogmatic traditions. There is a generation, the first, which is being formed in the heat of the revolution. This is the generation which will be called upon in the 20 years to come to carry on the task we are starting. They are the plant nursery from which will come the selected plants ensuring the ultimate triumph of the revolution.

In this respect the task of teachers and cadres in education is an extraordinarily delicate one, because like us they grew



up and were formed in the old world, and carry within them many bad habits and defects, a lot of individualism and ambition, many corrupt and superstitious attitudes which are harmful and might contaminate the new generation.

Teachers and education cadres must behave like the doctor who, before approaching the patient in the operating theatre, disinfects and sterilises himself so as not to infect the patient.

Through constant meetings, through continual criticism and self-criticism, teachers and education cadres must eliminate old ideas and tastes, so as to be able to acquire the new mentality and pass it on to the next generation.

How would we classify a doctor or nurse who contaminates patients? Who instead of caring for them and saving them, passes on diseases to them?

We must show maximum severity towards anyone among the teachers and education cadres who displays subjectivism, individualism, tribalism, arrogance, superstition or ignorance.

In short, the teacher, the education cadre, united with the masses, must wage an internal struggle, must disinfect himself, getting rid of the old and wholly internalising the new.

II. THE PRESENT REQUIREMENTS

Apart from the long-term task of creating a new mentality, there are requirements of the present situation which education is called upon to meet. We cannot create a new society without destroying the old, without overthrowing colonialism and its

vestiges, without creating the economic foundations for advancing the war and our society.

a) Unity and education

One of the prime concerns of education should be the unity of the people. Colonialism sought to accentuate all ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural divisions there might be among the Mozambican people. At the same time, traditional education by extolling the cult of the linguistic community to which a person belongs, instills in him an attitude of contempt, and at times even of hatred, towards other communities.

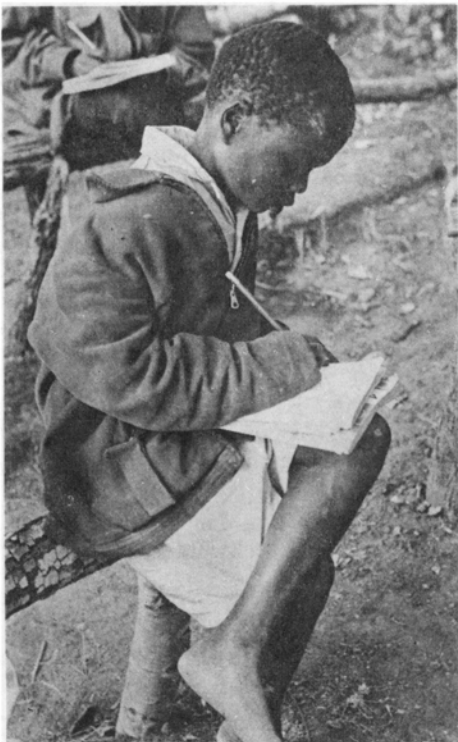
In our teaching we should bring out the similarities in the conditions of the Mozambican people as a whole. We should explain how colonialism exploits every region. The pupil needs to realise that the Mueda peasants' struggle against cotton growing is no different to the struggle of the sugar cane growers on the banks of the Zambezi, that the struggle of the stevedores in Lourenço Marques is the same as that of the miners in Tete. Workers shipped from Nampula to São Tomé or to the Lourenço Marques railways suffer the same exploitation as the men from Gaza who are sold to South Africa. The fishermen and rice cultivators in Manica e Sofala are exploited by the same foreigner as occupies the oil-fields of Inhambane. Taxes were just as crushing a burden on the people of Niassa who, like all Mozambicans, never saw a school or hospital which catered for them. At the same time, the pupil must identify with the heroic traditions of our whole country: the fight of Maguigane,

the resistance of Barué, the splendour of Sofala and the magnificence of Monomotapa.

Mozambique's cultural wealth does not belong to any one region. The contribution of the Zavala marimba players is as much a source of pride to us as Makonde sculpture and the gold filigree work of the Tete goldsmiths. In this connection, we should like to hail the decision to invite Mozambican sculptors to teach the boys and girls at the Tunduru Pilot School the wonders of their art. We hope that there will be more and more similar initiatives in the fields of painting, goldsmithing, iron and copper working, artistic handicrafts, mat-making, basketry, etc.

Regionalism, tribalism and the attitude of looking down on other communities are the result of ignorance, of lack of knowledge of other values. No one loves what he does not know.

This is why we regard the First Cultural Festival the DEC proposes to hold as a valuable contribution to our national unity, for the development of our culture. It is to be hoped that regional and provincial festivals will be held prior and subsequent to the First Cultural Festival. Let art seek to combine old form with new content, then giving rise to new form. Let painting, written literature, theatre and artistic handicrafts be added to the traditionally cultivated dance, sculpture and singing. Let the creativity of some become that of all, men and women



young and old, from the North to the South, so that the new revolutionary and Mozambican culture may be born of all.

In the schools, on the classroom benches in the houses and canteens and in production, we should always endeavour to join pupils and teachers from different regions, so that through day-to-day familiarity we rid ourselves of regional reflexes and acquire Mozambican feelings and consciousness.

It is by uniting in work that we really unite. Teachers and pupils should work side by side at all tasks, because there are no greater or lesser tasks in the Revolution, only revolutionary tasks. Because words have no life without practice, a body without flesh is a skeleton and a body without bones cannot stay upright on its own, it is necessary constantly to transform the assertion of unity into the practice of unity. Uniting with one another means knowing and understanding one another. It is in joint effort, in sweat expended at the same time, in the tree trunk torn out by combining our strength, in the dance composed through the creativity of minds working together that knowing and understanding come into being and unity is consolidated.

b) Society and environment

In our struggle against the colonialists one of the decisive factors for our victory is that we are struggling in our own country, that is, in a society and on a terrain which are ours and which we know better than anyone.

The development of our struggle requires that we constantly deepen our knowledge of our country, that this knowledge become increasingly scientific.

Studying the history, geography, zoology, botany and mineralogy of our land will enable us to know how to use our resources better.

It should be considered especially that our people have a great deal of knowledge about the resources of nature, even though this knowledge is empirical and often distorted by superstition. In our education we should encourage teachers and pupils to compile the empirical knowledge of the masses and analyse it critically and objectively so as to develop our knowledge and science for the benefit of society.

It is also necessary to promote constant discussion and study on the usages and customs of each region, so as to know them better, assimilate them and purify them through criticism.

Each of us must understand that the task he is called upon to perform is in Mozambique. In other words, Mozambique is not a given region, village or province, but a vast country with a great diversity of conditions which we need to understand if we are to be effective.

c) The mastering of technology

We are confronting an enemy army which is backed by all the resources of modern technology, and in order to face up to the growing needs of the masses and the war we are obliged to continually increase and diversify production. At the same time, our social and administrative needs require the use of more personnel and more complex technology.

While it is true that it is in military camps and especially in the field that we discover the ways of destroying the enemy's military machine, it is still necessary to impart a minimum of scientific knowledge to militants, to cadres, to enable them to increase their mastery of military technology.

Production requires ever more attention. In facing up to the needs of the masses under war conditions we should rely above all on our own efforts. However, diversifying production, improving techniques, using nature to fight against natural calamities, digging wells and irrigation channels, building dams and so forth, requires of us knowledge we do not always have.

We want pupils to acquire such practical knowledge at school. Cotton spinning and weaving should be taught with the natural sciences; the theory and practice of building dams and irrigation channels should be combined with arithmetic and physics; there should be practice in building water wheels, mills turned by animals and windmills. In short, there is a great deal of scientific and practical knowledge which would help us to develop our agriculture and promote the establishment of such craft-based industries as cabinet making, carpentry, masonry, pottery, soap making, spinning and weaving, making furnaces for iron production, kilns for bricks, etc.

Combining education with production means above all the theoretical and practical acquisition of knowledge to be made available for production, administration, social services and combat.

III. THE EDUCATION METHODS

It is obvious that if we are to solve all the problems that face us successfully we

must use methods suited to our situation. To be effective, our methods must derive from our principles and practice, they must be based on that which constitutes our strength.

a) Education and the mass line

Our chief strength, the primary cause of all we do, is the people. In solving our problems we should rely first on them, following a mass line. In other words, we should rely on the people in defining our objective interests and struggling to achieve them.

Only by following this line can we distinguish the essential from the secondary, the immediate from the long term, defining what are our interests and distinguishing that which belongs to the enemy from that which is ours. These principles also apply to our work in education.

The chief characteristic of the situation in education in our country is the illiteracy prevailing among the overwhelming majority of our people, as well as the obscurantist practices caused by colonialism and superstition.

The main battle in the field of education is therefore against illiteracy and obscurantism. If we are to succeed, we must mobilise the masses in this battle, making them aware of the need to learn and showing them the catastrophic consequences of ignorance. Without the active participation of the masses in the battle against illiteracy it will not be possible to wipe it out, and without an understanding of the evils introduced by obscurantism nothing will make them struggle against it.

It is also by following the mass line that we define the priorities and establish the education programme. How are we to know, for example, where we should devote the greatest efforts, whether in literacy teaching, higher education, training primary school teachers or establishing secondary education? Should a pupil who has completed primary education carry on with his studies or should he devote himself to teaching literacy? Should we be content to state that 20,000 children in the liberated areas are receiving schooling when in those same areas there are still hundreds of thousands of children who have no contact with any school? Should we give priority to children or to the army, which is the backbone of our movement?

These are extremely serious problems requiring deep thought. The priorities in our education work have not as yet been properly established, and this 2nd Con-

ference must make a careful study of the problem.

b) Learning war in the war

This problem stems mainly from the concept that a pupil needs continuous education, that is, that the pupil must remain in school from primary level until he obtains his higher education diploma.

However, the circumstances under which we are living, of war and massive illiteracy, demand concepts and methods which meet both our future objectives and our most immediate objectives, for unless these are solved there will be no future. This means that instead of continuous education we should give priority to permanent and progressive education. We mean that all militants should at all times be able to raise their technical, cultural and political level. At the same time it means that after priorities have been established, some people will be selected for special crash courses, so that they can then impart their newly-acquired knowledge to broader sectors of the people.

In the final analysis, this is the method we have already been using successfully for some years in our war. As soon as a fighter receives a minimum of training, he goes into battle where he further develops his practical knowledge and passes it on to others. Some are selected from the battlefield for more advanced training, and they then return to raise the general level. We do not wait to train generals in order to fight battles.

c) Relying on our own forces

Stemming from what we have just said is the principle of relying on our own forces. We do not wait for others to come and solve our problems for us. We do not wait for help from outside in order to face situations we come up against.

We are all aware that to solve the problems of education and to prepare textbooks and programmes, highly specialised personnel is required.

It seems to us that more productive use should be made of the higher cadres in education — both national and foreign. We feel that these people should devote themselves primarily to training and refresher courses for education cadres, the drawing up and supervision of programmes and correspondence courses. In short, the programmes should be directed towards raising the general level, which is a fundamental need in our war. In line with this, we think it would be wasteful to use foreign teachers solely for

teaching secondary school pupils, who will only be productive in the long term, when the very requirements of education call for cadres with a minimal scientific base to teach literacy to children, the army, workers in cooperatives and the militia. This approach might land us in the situation of some independent countries which have a few hundred graduates on the one hand, and a vast mass of illiterates on the other, without the middle cadres needed to ensure a proper output from the higher cadres. It is like a house with a roof but no foundations.

Let us pool our little knowledge and it will add up to a great deal. Let us discuss frequently, subjecting our ideas and knowledge to criticism and practice, studying a lot, holding regional and provincial seminars to increase our knowledge and exchange experiences. Let us try to organise correspondence courses to raise the knowledge of teachers and cadres.

CONCLUSIONS

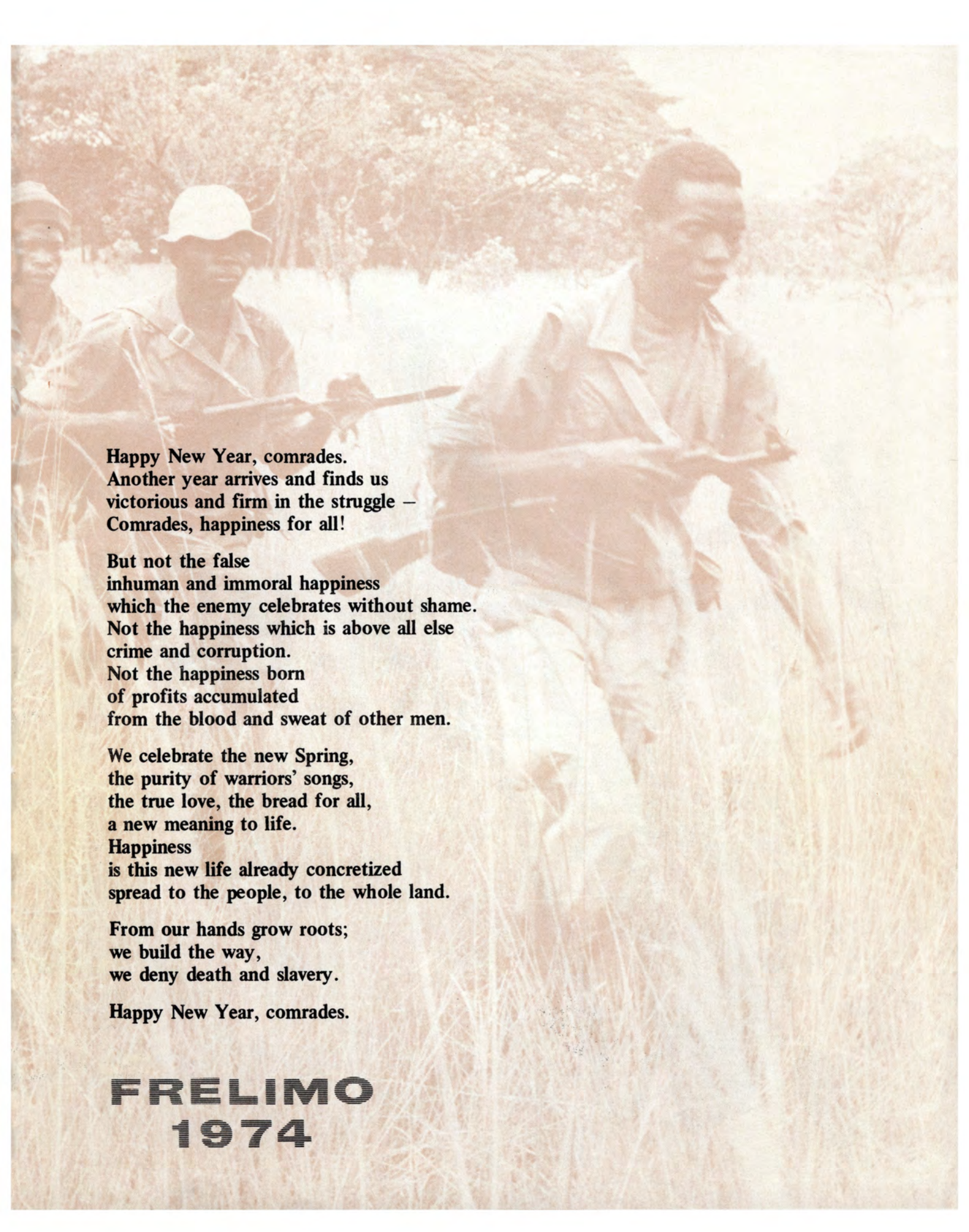
If we rely on the masses, learning war in the war and relying on our own forces, we shall be able to win the battle of education.

We have already achieved a great deal and this 2nd Conference shows us the distance we have covered since 1962, when education meant only the Mozambique Institute and good will in helping a few militants in Dar es Salaam.

Today our education means thousands and thousands of children in schools in liberated Mozambique, hundreds of teachers, adults studying, secondary education being re-organised, and about two hundred Mozambicans following technical and higher education courses abroad.

It is appropriate here to congratulate all the comrades who have made this reality possible, and in particular to pay tribute to the memory of our beloved President Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. We must also congratulate his wife, Comrade Janet Mondlane. These two comrades were among the first to understand that the destruction of obscurantism, of ignorance, was a fundamental task in our struggle. May this Conference, may the Department of Education and Culture put into practice the watchword we are here issuing:

**EDUCATE MAN TO WIN THE WAR,
CREATE A NEW SOCIETY AND DEVELOP
OUR COUNTRY.**



**Happy New Year, comrades.
Another year arrives and finds us
victorious and firm in the struggle —
Comrades, happiness for all!**

**But not the false
inhuman and immoral happiness
which the enemy celebrates without shame.
Not the happiness which is above all else
crime and corruption.
Not the happiness born
of profits accumulated
from the blood and sweat of other men.**

**We celebrate the new Spring,
the purity of warriors' songs,
the true love, the bread for all,
a new meaning to life.
Happiness
is this new life already concretized
spread to the people, to the whole land.**

**From our hands grow roots;
we build the way,
we deny death and slavery.**

Happy New Year, comrades.

**FRELIMO
1974**

